

THE SOUND OF THE OCCUPATION: STATE PACIFICATION AND SANITIZATION OF
FAVELA CULTURE IN RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

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ABSTRACT

SEANA MONLEY: THE SOUND OF THE OCCUPATION: STATE PACIFICATION AND SANITIZATION OF *FAVELA* CULTURE IN RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL (Under the direction of Charles Price)

In preparation for the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in 2016, Police Pacification Units (UPP) are being installed in the *favelas*, or shantytowns, of Rio de Janeiro in order to end drug trafficker rule and to clean up the look and reputation of the city. After witnessing residents' dissatisfaction with the pacification project in the *favela* Rocinha, this paper addresses why *favela* community members are concerned about the loss of community trafficking groups. Traffickers provide services to communities, including security and *funk* dances--an essential part of *favela* community life and cultural memory. *Funk*'s performance highlights the unique culture of the *favela*, rejecting the hierarchy of mainstream Brazilian society and promoting a local culture and system. State occupations have led to the shutdown of many trafficker provided social services and repression of *funk* culture.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

UPP Police Pacification Units or *Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora*

Introduction: *Favela* Pacification and Community Response

On November 10, 2011, Antônio Francisco Bonfim Lopes, the most wanted drug trafficker of Brazil and boss of the *favela* Rocinha, was captured after fleeing the police occupation of his community. In preparation for the world cup in 2014 and Olympics in 2016, the Brazilian government has begun a full assault against the drug trafficker controlled *favelas*, or shantytowns, scattered throughout Rio de Janeiro. After a combined effort of Elite Squad, army, and civil and military police takeovers, Police Pacification Units (UPP), or *Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora*, are being installed in communities to end drug trafficker rule and to clean up the look and reputation of the city. Rocinha is the 19th *favela* that the state has been able to "successfully" occupy in Rio de Janeiro since the beginning of the operation in 2008. Police set up stations outside of the *favela* Rocinha on November 9, 2011, and occupied the community on November 13. The state claimed that *favela funk* dances and music were intrinsically linked to drug trafficking culture. This is, in part, due to the funding that gangs provide to pay for some community *funk* dances as well as the one style of *funk*, proibidão, that platforms gang power and success. The pacification plan included immediately enacting new regulations that restricted all community *funk* culture, arguably the most essential community gathering and largest sub-culture within Brazil. Why aren't *favela* residents satisfied with the government pacification? *Favela* residents want security, peace, social services, respect, and to have the opportunity to contribute local knowledge to the reconstruction of their community order, services, and culture. The government and many non-*favela* residents believe that pacification will free *favela* residents from the fear of living under a violent and heavily armed narco-dictatorship. However,

rather than improve conditions for residents in *favela*'s like Rocinha, the pacification and repression of traffickers has led to increased crime and violence between residents, a rise in police violence, and a gang war. Many *favela* residents are protesting and questioning the intentions of the pacification programs as their community seems to be unraveling into violent chaos. Before Rocinha's pacification, many community members supported drug traffickers because they enforced strict laws to control crime in the community, provided social services, and allowed for community members to co-construct *favela* rules and activities specific to residents' needs and desires. Without an understanding of the intricate relationships between community members and *favela* residents turned gang members as well as the legacy of violence between police forces and *favela* residents, we will not be able to understand the needs and desires of community members and the work that will be needed to provide communities with a better option for security and welfare than trafficking gangs. I argue that most of Rocinha residents are unsatisfied with the pacification process and UPP presence in their community, and prefer the previous system of drug trafficker control for two reasons. First, community members believe that drug traffickers were able to provide better social services, community security, solved and mediated community issues, and respected residents more than the UPP officers. Second, many residents believe that they are suffering from a state imposed social cleansing under the pacification. The government enacted strict rules limiting and prohibiting *funk* music and dances in the *favela*, making it difficult to partake in cultural activities that are central to *favela* culture and identity.

In witnessing residents' dissatisfaction with the pacification project in the *favela* Rocinha, with the loss of drug trafficker control and popular *funk* events, I examine the current state pacification process and ask: Where is the disconnect between what the state wants for *favelas* and what *favela* residents want for themselves? In order to answer this question, this research utilizes theories of colonization, cultural memory, and "disreputable" music and provides a historical context of police violence in the *favelas*, security and services provided by drug traffickers, and the restriction and of *funk*, and the significance of this music.

to *favela* community members as a countercultural creation within the complex social structures of Brazilian society.

Socio-Historical Context: Life in the Crossfire of Drug Traffickers and the Police

The violence and repression of Rio's *favelados* did not begin with the rise of the drug trade in the 1980s; instead, it developed from a number of historical situations, including a history of repression in Brazilian society beginning with slavery and stretching through the military dictatorship of 1964-1985. Since the creation of the *favelas* near the late 18th early 19th centuries, police repression has been a consistent force in the lives of *favelados*. The Brazilian government granted no support or reparations to freed slaves after enslavement's abolition in 1888. Many of these freed slaves, in turn, moved from the countryside to city centers, where they hoped to find work. Unable to afford housing in the cities, they squatted land on the cities' outskirts, developing communities that clung vertically to the surrounding hills. These communities became the *favelas*.¹ Afro-Brazilians continue to make up the majority of the population.

Harsh repression of African-derived traditions continued long after the abolition of slavery, and was mainly concentrated in the *favelas*. For example, in the late 1800s *favelas* were regularly raided in order to shut down samba parties; this continued until samba became popular among the affluent class, and was eventually declared the national dance.² Nearly every cultural form derived from African roots has been illegal at some point in Brazil's history. For instance, *capoeira*, the martial arts dance developed by slaves, was illegal and repressed after slavery until its popularization in the 1930s and 1940s as a national art.³ Likewise, articles in the 1890 Brazilian penal code outlawed African-based religions, classifying them as sorcery and

¹ Guillermprieto: 29.

² Guillermprieto: 8.

³ Johnson 2005: 82.

dangerous medical practice.⁴ All of these prohibitions arose out of a discourse that sees the celebration of African heritage—rather than that of a more overarching Brazilianess—as counter to the nationalistic ideology.

This prejudice since the times of slavery continues. Since the construction of the first *favelas*, police have regularly raided these communities, always using the excuse of stopping these Afro-centered practices. These raids continue today, because the attitudes against *favelados* and their culture remain fundamentally unchanged. African cultural practices continue to be seen as challenging unless they are appropriated as national traditions and their rebellious themes are muted.

Continued repression of the *favelas* led to the control that traffickers have over the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro. The organization and consolidation of drug trafficker power is due in part to the repression of leftists during the military dictatorship that lasted from 1964-1985. During the military dictatorship, leftist political prisoners were put in jail with common criminals, and began to educate the criminals about socialist values.⁵ The criminals identified with the solidarity of the leftist prisoners and began to think collectively and organize inside the prison. It was here that the *Commando Vermelho* (Red Command) was created; it is now the largest and strongest drug-trafficking faction in Rio de Janeiro. The original philosophy of the group was “*paz, justiça, e liberdade*,” or peace, justice, and liberty—to live in peace while in prison, to have social justice for all, and to get out of prison at any cost. The group began to seek vengeance for crimes committed by guards on prisoners and would retaliate against prisoners who preyed on other inmates, with the final goal of providing for the poor what the government would not.⁶ By 1987, Commando Vermelho was well established as a faction and able to organize prison breaks, provide economic support for family members of prisoners, and grant new identities and income opportunities for criminals who wanted to leave trafficking. The

⁴ Johnson 2005: 82.

⁵ Guillermoprieto: 82.

⁶ Lund 1999.

Commando Vermelho is still commended by many *favelados* for influencing the current traffickers' beliefs about "class consciousness, racial pride, and loyalty to one's community."⁷

Drug factions like Commando Vermelho increasingly operated *outside* the prisons, and became major social forces in the *favelas*. Currently, Rio de Janeiro is engaged in an undeclared civil war fought between the police and the four rival drug factions that control the city's *favelas*. These drug factions include *Comando Vermelho*, or the Red Command (the oldest and most powerful faction); *Terciero Comando Puro*, or Pure Third Command (created after a split within *Comando Vermelho*); *Amigos dos Amigos*, or Friends of Friends (a faction made up of ex-police); and *Commando Vermelho Jovem* (a dissident group that split with *Commando Vermelho*).⁸

Drug factions wield significant amounts of power within many of Rio's *favelas*, but traffickers are not the "narcodictators" reining only through fear and weapons as portrayed through the national media and many academic *favela* studies. This argument belittles the agency *favelados* have in their own lives and communities. *Favelados* often remain silent about drug trafficking activities in exchange for social services, employment opportunities, and police protection. Historically, the only state entities that have entered the *favelas* have been police forces, as the government has typically neglected to provide the *favelas* basic services such as running water, sewage systems, and electricity. Therefore, community members view drug factions as providing services and security that are *desperately* needed.

The Evolution and Criminalization of Funk Culture

Rio's *funk* music has played a part in the debate around the justification of the criminalization and vilification of *favelados* from the time of its creation. Since the 1970s, Brazilian *funk* has evolved in the *favelas*, drawing upon pre-disco *funk* and soul, 1980s and 1990s Miami bass music, "old school" U.S. hip hop, and current-day Brazilian music, to create a

⁷ Guillermprieto: 82.

⁸ Arias 2006: 32.

hybridized Brazilian music.⁹ Adding to this mix, *funk* music includes elements that can range from gunfire and samba to soccer anthems and animal sounds. Many of the first well-known *funk* musicians, including DJ Marlboro and MC Galo, are still among the most popular musicians today. The songs speak of community pride, camaraderie, and love. Increasingly, they also address violence, poverty, and the fight for social and physical space inside and outside of the *favela*.

The main styles of *funk* are *funk melody*, *montagem*, *funk sensual*, and *funk realidade*. *Funk melody* is romantic with a soft, melodic singing style, with lyrics that generally deal with love. *Montagem* is performed by a DJ who remixes *funk* songs and is usually mixed from a live recording of a *funk* performance as well as generic samples of gunshots and other sounds. *Funk sensual* includes the most explicit sexualized lyrics, including those of *putaria*, or “whorehouse.” *Funk realidade*, or reality *funk*, is based on the reality of life in the *favela*. Its lyrics deal with issues of inequality, poverty, police brutality, and drug trafficking gangs. Most *funk realidade* is *proibidão*.

Proibidão, meaning illegal or highly prohibited, is one of the most popular styles of *funk*. This form of *funk* originated from drug lord-sponsored “*bailes funk*,” or community dances, as part of the social services provided to the community. During *bailes*, MCs and DJs in the *favela* may honor the ruling drug faction by mentioning the gang’s power, territory, or past crimes. When this occurs, drug lords will often shoot their sub-machine guns into the air to show appreciation for the songs recognition. The lyrics of *proibidão* are based around the reality of life in the *favela*, including issues of inequality, poverty, police brutality, and drug trafficking gangs. Because these songs mention drug traffickers, *favela* warfare, and crime, *proibidão* has been deemed illegal. It violates Article 286 of the Brazilian Penal Code, which makes it illegal to incite violence, and Article 287, which prohibits the glorification of a crime.¹⁰ It is illegal to perform, record, sell, or listen to *proibidão*. Many citizens, politicians, and lawmakers in

⁹ Sneed 2003, 60.

¹⁰ Sneed 2007, 222.

opposition to the music claim that *proibidão* promotes lifestyles of crime and works to recruit *favela* youth to drug gangs. Artists and fans of *proibidão* believe that the music only speaks of the reality of their lives.

Funk music and dances have held an important place in *favela* culture since the 1970s. The music was originally seen as an exotic and enjoyable product of the United States; today's Brazilian-created *funk*, in turn, is seen by many *funkeiros* as the voice of the *favela* and a tool to be used against its marginalization and repression. As such, it causes cultural friction between the *favelados* and the affluent class by allowing for another version of history to be heard by the public. *Funk* music is inescapable in Rio, as it is blasted out of car speakers and played on televisions in restaurants, confronting the affluent class with previously unheard voices and perspectives. The vilification and criminalization of *funk* should come as no surprise in a country famous for its economic and social inequality and its history of criminalizing *favela* culture. Grounded in class difference, cultural productions from the *favela* have historically been detested by the majority of the middle and upper-class Brazilians at one time or another. This history explains, in part, reasons why *funk* was targeted with harsh restrictions at the start of the occupation projects in Rio de Janeiro.

Funk is a difficult cultural resource with which to work with, as it involves drug trafficking, local knowledge of respect and respectability, and a local aesthetic rooted in both *favela* and international culture. At the same time, it also finds its grounding in shared experience, directly challenges repression, and allows for venting and enjoyment through the music and dance. A *funkeiro*, in turn, is a person who is involved in the cultural world of *funk*—through music and dances. For the purposes of this paper, I reserve this term for people who self-identify as *funkeiros*.

A study of the *favela* is not complete unless it addresses the culture of *funk*. *Funk* is a lens into this cultural world; reflecting the discourse and sentiments of the community mediated through community dances and song. *Funk* dances are an essential part of community life, and its performance highlights the unique culture of the *favela*, rejecting the culture and power

structure of Brazilian national society and embraces a local culture and system. Fueling the largest gathering in the *favela*, *funk* and all its themes of love, sex, community, pride, violence, and drugs have obvious influences and implications on the lives of *favela* youth--resulting in multiple voices of acceptance and rejection by people inside and outside the *favela*.

During this research, I found that musicians represent the voices of the community in three main ways. First, they represent voices that counter the hegemonic discourse and stereotypes surrounding the *favela* coming out of the city proper. Second, some musicians are sponsored by drug trafficking factions to represent the voices of traffickers and their supporters. And finally, they represent the *cultura de lazer*, or culture of leisure, and therefore the culture politics of pleasure, which I claim is the opting out of Brazil's highly political atmosphere to focus on music for pleasure rather than music for lyrical and/or political value. These voices are being sanitized, repressed, and or allowed to exist due to the new wave of the *funk* movement.

Methodology and Research Design

In preparation for this research, I spent six years studying *favela* social relations and *funk carioca* in years prior to my arrival to Rocinha in the summer of 2010. This included collecting songs, lyrics, videos, and literature for analysis. My research interests prompted me to make contacts with a range of *funk* scholars and musicians, including one of the leading *funk* scholars, Dr. Paul Sneed, co-founder of the *Instituto Dois Irmãos* (Two Brothers Foundation) in Rocinha, the largest slum in Latin America, who invited me to conduct my research at the foundation. *Dois Irmãos* was created to promote cultural exchange and language education. Teaching at *Dois Irmãos* allowed me to become involved in the community and gave me the opportunity to learn about Brazilian and *favela* culture from the people who live there, in a more personal and intimate way than as an outside researcher.

Rocinha was a productive fieldsite not only because of my participation in *Dois Irmãos*, but more importantly, because *funk* is central to the culture of the community. Before the government occupation of Rocinha, *bailes* were by far the largest community gatherings, and occurred Friday through Sunday. On Fridays, small street dances, funded by traffickers, were held around the community. Every Saturday, the *baile da comunidade*, or community dance, was funded and hosted by the drug trafficking gang. This dance was the largest in the community, and drew in drug traffickers from the other Amigo dos Amigos drug-faction-controlled communities. The drug boss would make an appearance at 3am, marching into the large soccer field sized warehouse and overlooking the party from the second floor VIP section. Finally, Sundays are the *bailes* at Clube Emoções in Rocinha, which begin with the youth *baile*

at 8 p.m., and stretch into the adult *baile* at 11:30 p.m. In addition to these dances, Rocinha is home to some of the famous *funk* musicians, including Júnior e Leonardo, MC Dolores, and MC Galo.

While in Rio de Janeiro during the summer of 2010 and 2011, I attended *funk bailes* in Rocinha and the neighboring *favela* of Vidigal. I was able to meet many Rocinha residents and became friends with people who later became some of my most generous participants. In addition to attending many bailes, I completed 20 in-depth and thirty short interviews during my research in the *favela* Rocinha in Rio de Janeiro.

During my data analysis, I found that participants would always voice their opinions about the impending occupation, drug traffickers, and *funk* music. Government occupations of Rio's *favelas* were announced to residents ahead of time by dropping flyers from helicopters. Although residents had always spoken to me about the advantages and disadvantages of trafficker control in the community, I found that as the date for the state occupation drew nearer residents were much more vocal and defensive about the ways in which traffickers were respectful of community members, kept order in the community, and would help people who requested assistance. Rocinha's residents began posting to social media sites, blogs, and we're contacting me to discuss their the reasons why drug trafficker control was the best option for the community.

While residents were open to the state replacing drug trafficker services, police control of Rocinha was not what residents had in mind as far as improvement. As the date for the occupation grew closer, even participants who in previous years had told me that they hoped for a better option for the community than trafficking urgently defended their community's traffickers, *funk* music, and the ability to continue *favela* traditions including street parties. Conversations I had with residents in person, by email, and social media posts that I collected juxtapose the violent portrayal of drug traffickers in the media with the violent histories they had experienced first hand with the police, violent outcomes of the decisions of politicians, and politician and police corruption. One example that was widely circulated features photos of drug

traffickers with guns on one side and on the other a group of politicians. The meme asks, "Who are the real criminals?" A second, similarly popular, example compares a picture of traffickers in the *favela* next to a photo of police checking cars at a roadblock asking, "Where would you rather risk passing?: in front of a *favela* full of traffickers or through a police roadblock?"



Figure 1-Where would you prefer to pass?

While the majority of *favela* research claims that traffickers rule through fear, this research brings to light reasons why community members prefer community grown drug trafficker control to state control, mainly examining the loss of sovereignty over *favela* cultural events.

Controlling the Internal Colony

In order to examine the ways in which new forms of social order and *favela* cultural repression are being constructed and acted out in the *favela*, this work analyzes the occupation within colonial theory, cultural memory, identity, and the performance of "disreputable" music.

Rio de Janeiro is known as the “Divided City,” where the “asphalt,” or city proper, meets the “dirt,” or segregated area of the *favela*. This research situates the current *favela* pacification projects in Rio de Janeiro within an anthropology of colonialism by addressing the pacification process as an internal colonization of the *favela*. Works by scholars of coloniality, such as Walter Mignolo and Aníbel Quijano, illustrate the ways in which power dynamics, social categorizations, and economic and social inequalities created by colonial systems in Latin America still exist today.¹¹ In this research, I utilize the notion of "internal colonization," defined by Pablo Cassanova as the continuation of these structures and inequalities that are a legacy of colonization.¹² *Favelados* continue to be labeled and treated as second class citizens,

Twice colonized, once by the Portuguese and again by the affluent classes, *favelados* struggle with existing within the conflict over the physical and ideological control of their *favela* borderland. Up to the occupations, Brazilian government has only been able to physically control what is outside of the *favela* as the landscape of the *favela* is too difficult to maneuver. Maureen Sioh asserts that the modern state is composed from the ability of the leaders to “monopolize the legitimate use of physical force within a given territorial area” (Sioh, 731). Many *favelas* are built up a 30 to 40 degree incline, with weaving alleys and no street names. Sioh argues that the power of the state through force is limited within these spaces. The physical terrain combined with trafficker control resulted in Rocinha's occupation requiring maps to be created from helicopters while hovering over the community as well as a force of 3,000 people from the military and civil police, army, and navy. Sioh claims that the repressive laws that define contemporary political landscapes are very much rooted in colonial attempts to control its physical and demographic landscapes.¹³

Authors like Ann Laura Stoler and Bhabha illustrates how colonial states, like the British and Dutch, utilized categorization as a political tool to control colonial subjects. Stoler analyzes

¹¹ Mignolo, Quijano.

¹² Cassanova

¹³ Sioh, 733.

the racialized politics of classification that legitimized and illegitimated violence. Those who did not fit into the strict categories provided by the colonial project would remain in-between categories or rework the criteria for inclusion. Bhabha addresses the use of the stereotype in colonial discourse, explaining that the colonizer can only gain power over the colonized when he is able to create the categories of the colonizer and the colonized. Bhabha argues that the stereotype is a moment of colonial discourse that "informs the discursive and political practices of racial and cultural hierarchization."¹⁴ For instance, the state's ability to label *favelado* men as "dangerous" and "violent" through police reports and media legitimizes the government's use of force against *favelados*. By marking *favelas* as spaces controlled by narco-dictatorships, state pacification of *favelas* are legitimate in the eyes of non-*favela* dwelling Brazilians and foreigners alike.

The presence of *favelas* is dealt with as a permanent contamination, sometimes as one that cannot be solved, whereas *favelado* bodies have been easier to contain through the use of police and security officers who regulate access to middle and upper class locations within the city. *Favelado* bodies are often recognizable to non-*favelas* by Afro-Brazilian or North Eastern phenotypes and class markers such as clothing. Youth, in particular, are met with violence upon leaving the *favela*. For instance, in wealthy neighborhoods, *favela* youth are stopped and stripped searched. In addition, to enter movie theaters or shopping malls in wealthy areas of Rio, youth are required to show identification live in the neighborhood. Therefore, drastic measures are taken to contain *favela* bodies behind walls, police blocks, and regulation of public space.

Favelas, or shantytowns, of Brazil are a borderland, where the marginal locations of the *favela* crash into and are seen by the middle and upper class as "contaminating" the "beautiful" and "clean" views of city proper. These borders, previously marking the division between the rule of the drug traffickers and the rule of the state, functions as a location that is surveilled and policed, a space that delineates who belongs/does not, is legal/illegal, normative/other, and

¹⁴ Bhabha, 67.

white/racialized.¹⁵ As such, young male *favelados* are often stripped searched openly in the street outside of *favelas* when coming and going. Borders are the areas where *favelados* are identified, by others, in an attempt to implement power. *Favelados* and *funkeiros*, in turn, use this identification and power dynamics in performances at concerts and in lyrics where a *favelado* identity is reclaimed as positive and citizenship rights are demanded, helping *favelados* to construct identities as citizens, non-citizens, and partial citizens. According to Andzaldúa, in these border spaces, bodies are deemed "dangerous" and identity is performed in order to survive. Likewise, when *favelados* come in contact with outsiders, they are marked as "dangerous." This is where and why, previous to and during the occupations, *funkeiros* have been responding to the stereotypes and colonial discourse in an attempt to hold on to the culture with which they identify.

Specifically looking at Dutch colonies, Stoler shows how during European colonial projects, the personal was political, where racial membership depended more on the conduct of private lives than public. She claims that colonial states were invested in the knowledge production surrounding intimate practices and respectability.¹⁶ The colonial project works to control the intimate by pushing colonial knowledge, such as claiming ownership of the terms of "respectability." The affluent class is able to use the border of the *favela* to separate those who are respectable/non-respectable, white/non-white, or legal/illegal. These power relations legitimize the criminalization and vilification of *favela* culture, marking it as a "dangerous," "violent," and "vulgar," practice that supports drug trafficking, and encourages drug use and sexual exploitation of women.

Productive Cultural Memory

I utilize Diana Taylor's definitions of "spectacle" and "repertoire" to illustrate the importance of studying embodied culture in the *favela*, rather than texts. I utilize Taylor's

¹⁵ Hyndman and Mountz, 77.

¹⁶ Stoler, 6.

definition of the spectacle as "not an image but a series of social relations mediated by images"¹⁷ because *funk*, as a spectacle, reflects the social changes, events, and voices in the *favela*. This musical form is a tool within the repertoire of cultural performance. Taylor argues that repertoire "enacts embodied memory: performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing--in short, all those acts usually thought of as ephemeral, non-reproducible knowledge."¹⁸ Repertoire as an inventory, also allows for individual agency¹⁹ because *funk* acts as a vehicle of voice, calling attention to social problems specific to these spaces; through both music lyrics and embodied *funk* culture at dances. With technological advances, people use *funk* to spread knowledge and share history through the sharing of songs, lyrics, music videos, and transferring oral history to cartoons to better propagate knowledge within their communities and movement. Even though *funk* is the largest cultural gathering within the *favelas* of Rio, the events drawing in more people than any other *favela* event, *funk* is an understudied social medium. *Favela* identifications are created and re-created in relation to *funk* culture. Therefore, this space is essential for understanding other social formations and practices in these communities.

Historically, texts have been the preferred means to record cultural history and memories. This plays into the politics of cultural memory: Who uses texts? Whose history is recorded and for what purpose? Diana Taylor asks if texts had never been the focus of Latin American social history and cultural memory, what would the history look like? How would this change the cultural identity of Latin America? And whose voice, memories, and stories would appear?²⁰ The history and culture of the *favela* have traditionally been passed down in oral histories, music, and other embodied practices. *Funk* is an important practice in the collection of *favela* histories and social problems. Cultural texts are embodied within the *funk* music in *favelas*; where many people, even famous musicians, are illiterate.

¹⁷ Taylor, 13.

¹⁸ Taylor, 20.

¹⁹ Taylor, 20.

²⁰ Taylor, xviii.

Rodriguez and Fortier define "memory culture" as, "The process by which a society ensures cultural continuity by preserving, with the help of mnemonics, its collective knowledge from one generation to the next, rendering it possible for later generations to reconstruct their cultural identity."²¹ I build off of Rodriguez and Fortier's components of this definition to include: first, the cultural survival of a marginalized group of people, and secondly, the role a cultural identifier in resisting the erasure of cultural memory.²² Although faced with extreme suppression of *funk* culture, *favelados* are fighting to retain their cultural practices.

Rodriguez and Fortier discuss the ways in which culture becomes recognized as something that needs to be kept alive in crisis and that the larger the crisis, the more important these memories become.²³ Rodriguez and Fortier recognize the ability that different aspects of memory have to liberate from oppression, provide a medium for transmission memory, inform the emotions of generations, and unite people through time for a common cause.

While the affluent classes in Brazil see the *favela* occupations a civilizing mission--a positive force that will bring progress. Cultural memory is essential to the survival of *favelados* as a community and identification. Rodriguez and Fortier recognize that, "One's present existence is shaped irrevocably by recollections of the past and anticipations of the future. It is these memories that give meaning, direction, and shape to ethical choices. Without memory, the living of life would have no coherence at all."²⁴

The Threat of Music: Outlaw culture in U.S. Hip Hop and the Criminalization of Funk

Brazilian *Funk* and U.S. Hip Hop are musics and performances that are vilified and criminalized because they confront dominant narratives of history and are associated with outlaw and gang culture. In her book, *The Hip Hop Wars*, ethnomusicologist Tricia Rose breaks down

²¹ Rodriguez and Fortier, 1.

²² Rodriguez and Fortier, 1.

²³ Rodriguez and Fortier, 5.

²⁴ Rodriguez and Fortier, 8.

the most common arguments about whether hip hop is a positive or negative cultural creation. Rose claims that many critics and defenders of hip hop exist within a continuum that stretches from believing the music is absolute social trash to defending it as a wrongly accused victim. She argues that critics refuse to recognize the urban racial discrimination that has resulted in the ghetto conditions portrayed in hip hop music, and instead use that music as “proof” that black bodies create those conditions through their own actions.²⁵

Similar to *funk*, hip hop has been accused of glorifying and causing violence. Rose dates the concern linking hip hop to violence to the early 1990s, when hip hop artists such as Public Enemy began to call for resistance to racism by armed as well as unarmed means. These assertions on the part of hip hop artists raised concern among hip hop critics that the music’s lyrics would incite violence among youth. Rose argues that while no evidence correlates violent behavior with the consumption of violent music, negative consequences can certainly result from the stigmatization of musical styles which are associated with marginalized groups—in this case black youth.²⁶

Hip hop in the United States confronts the turbulent social relations between the urban poor and the “normative” affluent class within the “city proper.” Within these spaces, it is not just black bodies that are criminalized and vilified. The culture coming out of these communities is also marked as “outlaw cultures.” Monica Evans (2000) defines “outlaw culture” within black communities as working on two different levels—first, as something imposed on black bodies by the law and discourses of fear, and second, as a choice made to position oneself or one’s community in “deliberate opposition to mainstream culture and legal norms when those norms ill serve such communities.” She uses the term “outlaw culture” to refer to a “network of shared institutions, values and practices through which subordinated groups elaborate an autonomous, oppositional consciousness” (Evans 2000: 503). In her book, *Prophets of the Hood: Politics and Poetics in Hip Hop*, Imani Perry argues that hip hop embraces the outlaw. Perry argues that in

²⁵ Rose: 5.

²⁶ Rose: 34-6.

hip hop, the outlaw can be claimed by an individual as an archetype “thug” or “convict” to gain status, or as a celebration of community outlawry (Perry 2004: 103). Hip hop in the U.S. confronts inequality and embraces those who rise against it. The same dynamic plays out in Rio de Janeiro’s *funk proibidão*, or illegal *funk*, which draws on images of outlawry in order to platform the power of the drug traffickers.

Tricia Rose addresses the confrontation of power relations in hip hop through the concept of “thug mimicry” (Rose 2008: 109). “Thug mimicry” occurs when hip hop artists themselves perform African American stereotypes in order to confront social problems and disrupt white supremacy. She claims that by mimicking the “black monster,” hip hop artists gain power by utilizing white fear and disrupting white definitions of African American communities. Through these stereotypes, artists are able to implicate the oppressors through the explanation of social conditions that lead to “thug life” (Rose 2008: 109). It is here that a wider issue of culture and power surfaces most vividly. Whereas mainstream culture does not serve these subordinated communities, “outlaw” culture provides subordinated groups the opportunity to create their own culture, producing knowledge that reflects their lifestyles and benefits their communities.

Music is a cultural creation which allows readers to dive deeper into the meanings and workings of the social and power relations at play within communities, especially when examining marginalized and subaltern cultures that are normally silenced. *Funk* has been utilized to openly celebrate the culture of drug trafficking, denounce violence, and call for peace within the community and is now focused on *favela* pacifications. In Rocinha, proibidão songs feature the rival gang Comando Vermelho claiming Amigos dos Amigos territory after pacification and songs from the Amigos dos Amigos gang claiming that the drug boss of Amigos dos Amigos Nem will always reign and another called, “A Stick Up the Ass of the UPP.” Non-proibidão songs speak to the violence occurring in pacified *favelas* at the hands of the police. *Funk* speaks to these issues and commentaries on issues that exist within Brazilian society and *favelas*.

Research Findings

While drug traffickers complicate the lives of the *favelados*, they are also part of the community; they regulate crime in the *favela*, provide social services, and even offer protection from other gangs and from police brutality. Recent studies in poor communities in Latin America and Jamaica illuminate the ways in which traffickers provide support and security to community members, and in some cases, how residents will even put themselves in danger to protect gang members.²⁷ *Favelados* feel better connected to the traffickers and understand the difficulties that the young, Afro-descended youth who constitute them face while trying to survive in one of the most unequal societies in the world.²⁸ Drug lords are often perceived as Robin Hood-type figures who stand up to the government that ignores them and the police who violate them. Furthermore, traffickers are members of the communities themselves and have many of the same values, whereas the police are the outsiders, seen as offering little support and protection to community members while often instilling fear through ruthless violence.

This isn't to say that the traffickers eschew violence. Indeed, they claim the power to kill whomever they choose. Yet they direct this killing to those who risk the security of *favelados*. This means that the people living in the *favelas* do not have to live in fear of crimes committed against them by other *favelados*. The traffickers deal out extremely harsh punishments for crimes committed in the community, often arbitrating the unwritten laws of the *favela* with a perceived sense of fairness. For example, crimes such as spousal abuse and theft are often punishable by

²⁷ Price 2004; Charles 2002; Harrison 1988; Soto 2012; Magaloni 2011; Sneed 2007.

²⁸ Gay 2005: 4.

death after repeated offenses, whereas rape may garner an immediate death sentence. Because of this system and its harsh punishments, in most *favelas* the crime rate remains near zero. Although drug traffickers are sometimes feared by individuals or hated by those who lost family members murdered by them, many people feel secure from crime and police violence in their own *favelas* because of the traffickers' presence.

The drug traffickers' power is based in part upon work within the community. Traffickers often act as mediators during neighborly confrontations and build coalitions with the neighborhood associations. Some of the social services that factions provide to the community include building daycares and soccer fields, and providing funds for housing repairs and medical costs. One of the participants I formed a close relationship with during fieldwork is an ex-trafficker who was paid by the gang to paint murals in Rocinha. Traffickers paid him for murals not only to memorialize traffickers killed in battle, but also for cartoon character murals in Rocinha's schools, daycares, and non-profits. Drug traffickers also sponsor neighborhood *funk* dances, which are essential celebrations of community in the *favela*. Though few *funk* songs speak about the relationships between traffickers and community members, the following proibidão song demonstrates the loyalty *bandidos* expect from the community.²⁹

When the heart is pure and the act sincere
It transmits security for all of the community
And so when the unexpected happens and the bullets get hot
The community member opens their door to demand that you come in³⁰

The song demonstrates, from the perspective of a trafficker, the symbiotic relationship that allows for the survival of both traffickers and community members. The discourse used in the song suggests that it benefits the entire community to give to one's community as it does not only benefit the *bandido* during hard times, but lends to the wellbeing of the entire community.

In addition to community services that they provide, drug trafficking factions embrace the production of local *favela* knowledge and culture that has historically been prohibited in

²⁹ These and all other lyrics have been translated by the author.

³⁰ Santos Mattos 2006: 66.

Brazil. The resentment felt towards the criminalization and vilification of *favela* culture is expressed in the following *funk* lyrics:

From Monday to Friday only reprimanded by the boss
The weekend arrives and we want to have fun
Enjoy the *funk* dance, to make fun of samba
Could it be that this is prohibited? My god, how could they?
Such a beautiful place, a grand and beautiful view
To enjoy something must it be taken out of the *favela*?
I am a sufferer, my dear God, how could they?
They are suffocating me, they are beating me with neurosis³¹

Trafficking gangs provide secure spaces for the celebration of *favela* sub-culture that would be prohibited otherwise. *Funk* dances are paid for by traffickers who allow for free entry; pirated music is sold at an affordable price; and lack of police access to the *favelas* means free artistic expression.

The war against trafficking in Rio de Janeiro has been inflicted upon *all favelados* and has led to *favelados* being seen and treated as the enemy by police. Whereas the government affords traditional legal privileges to middle-class homes, unlawful search and seizure remains sanctioned in the *favela*, where police forcibly enter and ransack or shoot into homes. Raids are meant to target drug traffickers, but police have a reputation for close-range executions of non-traffickers with their hands up or fingers laced behind their heads.³² The transition to democracy and the creation of the 1988 Constitution did little to correct the abuse endured by *favelados*. During the transition, nearly every aspect of the government was changed with the exception of police institutions. The role of a democratic police institution is to protect the citizens, but Brazil's police maintain their role of protecting the state and the "law abiding" people with money *from favelados* and vagrants, much as they did during slavery and especially through the dictatorship.³³

³¹ Santos Mattos 2006: 70.

³² Frayssinet 2007.

³³ Leeds 2008: 28.

As a consequence of the neglect *favelados* have suffered historically at the hands of the government, many *favelados* choose to support the drug gangs, whom they see as the lesser of the two corrupt and violent groups fighting for sovereignty. Anthropologist Donna M. Goldstein states:

The working and subemployed classes in Rio's periphery have indeed found a powerful alternative to the order that has traditionally trapped them, and that these exist in the form of gangs, both local and parolocal. It is in this sense that we can view the rise of drug-trafficking gangs and the continued rejection of the police within the shared context of a delegitimized rule of law. These gangs provide an alternative justice system—a parallel state, if you will—among the poorest, who thoroughly reject a corrupt police force and, in their everyday lives, seek some organized entity that can administer “justice” in the local arena.³⁴

Goldstein's claim, that traffickers have created a completely parallel state, disregards the role that the outside state, especially government and police, plays in the facilitation and perpetuation of the drug trade and system of power within the *favela*. Yet her argument clearly captures the sentiment that most *favelados* have for the police and the system that has been negotiated in the *favela* between traffickers and community members.

Due to the violence experienced by *favelados* at the hands of the state as well as the failure of the state to provide basic services, drug trafficking factions have created a system of *favela* security and provide social services. The costs for living within this system are high. Traffickers implement a male dominated, non-democratic system where violence is utilized as an instrument of control. The other option is a state which has an engrained fear of African and *favela* derived culture. Furthermore, the state is at war with the traffickers and essentially with the *favelas* as a whole. Both sides offer the promise of security and social services, and both sides fail. This results in the liminal status of *funk* music. The ways in which people identify with this music is related to all aspects of *favela* life.

Dorothy Holland and Kevin Leander build off of theories that address the ways in which power relations shape personal and group identities and subordinate social statuses through

³⁴ Goldstein, 207.

categorizations.³⁵ Holland and Leander explore, "How subjectivities are created by experiences of being positioned, in turn, contribute to the production of cultural forms that mediate subsequent experiences." Through its cultural performances, *funk* acts as a mediator for *favelado*'s sense of self and group identity. *Favelados* employ *funk* music as a means of expression, using it to bring attention to such social issues as police violence, rigid ideals of national identity, and the myths of social harmony. Not surprisingly, particularly given its overarching importance in the community, the theme of respect frequently appears in positive *funk* songs. Os Hawaianos' song, 'Eu Sou Brasileiro,' for instance, speaks to the disrespect that youth face as *funkeiros* and *favelados*; like many other *funk* songs, it calls for respect and dignity. This recent song—which I transcribe below— continues a longstanding tradition of storytelling that confronts social issues within the *favela*. It's also the kind of song that Rogerio—with his preference for old-school *funk*—claims has disappeared. The ethnopoetic transcription below simultaneously captures the performance of a song as well as the personal emotional reaction of a group member in a video recording of a concert performance. Tellingly, during one of the song's demands for respect, Tonzão, a singer and dancer in Os Hawaianos becomes emotional and starts to cry.

Os Hawaianos- Eu Sou Brasileiro

Five members of the group stand lined up on a white stage in front of a 15 foot high, 100 foot long wall of white and black speakers. Hundreds of fans are crowded together in a large auditorium.

Lead singer, Yuri, yells:

If you are Brazilian put up your hand!

Yuri is singing, and begins to walk the stage

³⁵ Holland and Leander.

I..... am Brazilian,
I'm from Rio de Janeiro/I am from the hill (*favela*),
I am a *funkeiro*.
Yes

Hello, please let me pass. Ahhhhh
I.....
am discriminated

Tonzão, another group member, is seen on camera singing along with other members, smiling, and then he begins to cry.

but I am also educated. My mother
gave me education,
and sent me to study. Ahhhhh

Tonzão covers his face, lets go, singing, smiles through his tears, and beats his chest with his pointer finger.

You can believe it/it says there/who would have thought
the boy would grow.

Yuri walks over to Tonzão, puts his arm around him, and chuckles while singing

I grew in
the City of God.
Foot on the ground, eyes and dreams above the clouds,
the clouds.

Money no,
only heart.

Yuri walks over to sing into a camera on the left hand side of the stage

Humility, discipline, and health
a discussion
I hope would help you.

All the members begin singing to the crowd

It is a pleasure to meet you/let me introduce myself!

I..... am Brazilian,
I'm from Rio de Janeiro/I am from the hill (*favela*),
I am a *funkeiro*.
Yes

Hello, please let me pass. Ahhhhh

The camera goes back to Tonzão who is
crying harder than before, he hides his face
in his shirt, wipes his eyes, and begins to
listen without singing as he tries to smile.

I.....
am discriminated
but I am also educated. My mother
gave me education,
and sent me to study. ahhhhh

Uncross the arm/go in front/Don't wait for anything to fall from the sky.

Because...
because from there only rain is sure to fall
Tonzão cries, closing his eyes and points upward

whereas our *funk* already carries a punch in the back and a slap on the chest

Tonzão, crying, slaps his chest

You know these things that happen that get you so pissed.
This guy wanting to scream that you and I are crazy.
If you don't want me to fight back, you cannot assault me or disrespect me.
Don't come to call me *favelado* and from a bad element.
I am a warrior and *funk* is my sustenance.

The crowd screams
With faith in God I credit him for my talent
and dive into the movement.
Our weapon is the microphone and our voices ammunition

and those who are closed talk about what we are . . .

Yuri laughs

I chose this song not only because it is popular in Rocinha, but also because it challenges the negative stereotypes surrounding *favelados*, and directly claims *funk* as a weapon against injustice. Os Hawaianos were not yet formed during the 1990s, but are now one of the most popular *funk* groups in Rio de Janeiro. This song is representative of the *funk antiga* lyrical and vocal style of the 90s, speaking to the discrimination and vilification of *favelados* and *funkeiros*. The performance of ‘Sou Brasileiro’ demonstrates how *funk* is used to call for respect, as the lyrics state, “I am discriminated, but I am also educated. . . . If you don’t want me to fight back, you cannot assault me or disrespect me . . . Don’t come to call me *favelado* and from a bad element, I am a warrior and *funk* is my sustenance.” Such lyrics directly link *funk* to the fight against abuse and disrespect that *favelados* face. Not only do they employ motifs of respect and discrimination, but they also include warrior analogies. The crowd celebrates the use of *funk* in the fight for respect, illustrating how they share this sentiment.

The lyrical claiming of identity within the song is a cultural artifact that illustrates the social, cultural, and historical contexts needed to understand the figured world of the *favela*. When the singers say, “I am Brazilian, I’m from Rio de Janeiro, I am from the *favela* (hill), I am a *funkeiro*. Yes,” the singers narrow their identities, moving from the national to the specifically and situationally cultural. Because *favelados* are marginalized from the strict national identity and from the city proper of Rio de Janeiro, Os Hawaianos open the song by claiming the identities of Brazilian and *Carioca*, or from Rio de Janeiro. The group also claims the status of *funkeiro* and *favelado*, though in a much different way, acknowledging that these are seen as negative identities. Yet they claim them proudly, taking pains to point out that even though they are *favelado* and *funkeiro*, they are also educated and essentially “good” people. Tonzão’s emotional release can be read as demonstrating the desperation and extent of the social and historical pain suffered by *favelados*.

Funk music publicly voices the *favelados*' frustration, while honoring those who *do* offer some measure of protection and service. *Proibidão* portrays the drug traffickers as the legitimate defenders of the people who have been criminalized by the illegitimate power of the state. *Proibidão* especially criticizes the police and paramilitary death squads that raid the *favelas* while legitimizing and promoting the drug traffickers' sovereignty over the *favelas*. For example, a *proibidão* song called *Rap das Armas*, or Rap of Weapons, is illegal in Brazil because it glorifies counter-attacks on police and justifies the rule of the drug traffickers. The song opens with a joyful-sounding chorus of vocalized gunfire, mimicking the staccato sounds a machine gun and the "clak clak boom" of a shotgun:

Parapapapapapapapapa
Paparapaparapapara clack clack bum
Parapapapapapapapapa
The *favela* Dende is difficult to invade
Like our enemy, we'll also have fun
'Cause in Dende I am going to tell you how it is done
Here is not easy for the Drug Recognition Experts
To come up here to the hill, even the Elite Squad fears
It is not easy for the civil army or for the Military Police
I have the best concept of my friends
But Dende's hill is also land of God

The song tells of the counterattack that will be made against the police who raid the *favela* and how the drug gang, like the police, will engage in violence (here described as "fun"). Opening by invoking how the police "invade" the *favela*, the singers justify their engagement in warfare, a rhetorical move that takes authority away from the police and dismantles their supposed legality and legitimacy.

With one of the largest contrasts of wealth in the world, Brazil has a social and economic system that has left *favelados* at the bottom. *Favelados* must often negotiate intricate social relations with the drug traffickers in charge of each *favela* and the police who raid their communities. Furthermore, it is not only the police that inflict violence on these communities, but also the intrusiveness of the government which has historically produced laws prohibiting African and *favela* derived culture. While the drug lords who control the *favelas* have a tendency to be violent and create an authoritarian atmosphere, many community members argue that

traffickers tend to better understand what the community members need and how to build support through social services, and are better able to cultivate a perception of law and order. At the same time, the drug trade—as well as the stigma of the *favela* as a dangerous place—allows people in power, such as the police, to enter *favelas*, many with no regard for life. This often results in some *favelados* viewing traffickers as a negative presence in the community, and the police as an even more negative force.

Funk Cultural Memory and Attempted Erasure

The *favela* occupation project is seen as civilizing mission by non-*favelados* as a solution to poverty, drug trafficking, and criminal culture like *funk* music. Cultural memory is vital to *favelado* identity. Excluded from mainstream culture, *favelados* use *funk* to participate and reflect on social problems and challenge dominant narratives and stereotypes. After debating whether or not to make *funk* dances in *favelas* legal at all,³⁶ the BOPE, or Special Police Operations Battalion, have enacted strict regulations that are turning the *funk* culture of Rocinha on its head. Some of the new regulations stipulate that no noise can be made in the *favela* after 10pm. This includes anything from family barbecues to street dances. In Rocinha, although other dances are permitted in the streets, *funk* dances are only legal in Club Emoções. This was the only location able to meet the strict demands of the BOPE. This includes a mandatory R\$28,000 charge for fire department approval as well as R\$1,200 per dance for police security. Furthermore, police are requiring that attendees of the baile pay an entrance fee of R\$20 twice the price of the pre-occupation fee.³⁷

The new restrictions are obviously a move on the part of the BOPE to the new power they wield in this community. Though they may seem like small changes, these new requirements make it much more difficult with in the culture and limited resources within the *favela*. Previous to the occupation, the *matinê*, or youth dance last from eight-thirty and eleven at

³⁶ MC Leonardo

³⁷ Rousso, Bruno

night with the adult dances beginning at twelve and ending at three o'clock in the morning. The culture of the *favela*, or of Brazilians in general, is not conducive to going out before eleven o'clock at night. Additionally, many *favelado* youth work on Saturdays, and in Brazil, dinner is usually eaten between nine and ten. Moreover, clubs outside of Rocinha normally do not open their doors until eleven-thirty at night and close at four or five in the morning. On top of the social implications of these restrictions, most *favelados* will feel the strain of paying double the previous entrance fee with most *favelados* making R\$120.00 (about US\$72) per month. This means that in order for a *funkeiro* to participate once a week in the culture that he identifies with and helped to create, it will cost him or her R\$80 (about US\$45) per month. Not only will the Thursday through Saturday bailes no longer exist, now the many *funkeiro* may struggle economically to attend bailes more than twice a month. Most importantly, the mandatory presence of police means that for the first time, weapons will be a part of the dance at Emoções. If drug traffickers ever attended the dances at Emoções, they never brought weapons. Certainly, after such a negative history with police, the first time presence of police and guns should have a visceral effect on the crowd.

As far as the changes in Club Emoções, owner Wagner Beta claimed that he should be the only location in the area to host *funk* parties, stating that he already began implementing rules of safety before the BOPE mandates.³⁸ Obviously, his monopoly over *funk* dances for more than 250,000 residents as well as the residents of neighboring Vidigal, will bring in lots of money, but the "pacification" of Rocinha is bringing something more lucrative to the *funk* dances--tourists and the affluent of Rio de Janeiro. For the first time, Beta began capitalizing on this situation by posting and handing out flyers in city proper as an attempt to draw in non-*favelados*. Previous events were announced in Rocinha on banners hanging in the streets and by advertisement cars that would drive through the *favela* with large speakers attached to the roof. The new flyers appear to be specifically aimed at members of the middle and upper class. The first of these flyers was for the 'Baile de Paz,' the Dance of Peace, which was the first dance to occur after the

³⁸ Rousso, Bruno

occupation. The flyer announces that on Sunday, November 20, 2001, Club Emoções, established 18 years ago, and home of the "Most Traditional *Funk* Carioca Dance" is hosting the "Baile de Paz" an "Homage to Black Consciousness Day." The flyer states that, "Those Who Wear White Get in Free!!!" The lower right corner features the logo of the sound system of the DJ. In the left hand corner, the flyer shows a fair-skinned woman with bright red hair and green eyes. She is who is wearing DJ style headphones and a gold necklace.



Figure 4.1 Club Emoções Flyer for Baile da Paz

Including the year established and directions in the advertisement, points to recruitment of outsiders since residents in Rocinha know where Club Emoções is located, regardless of whether they attended the dances or not. White t-shirts are often used by middle class youth protesting violence in Rio. The flyer gives the viewer the sense that this space is multi-racial. The racial contradiction displayed on the flyer of a Caucasian and possibly foreign female DJ juxtaposed with the homage to Black Consciousness Day, insinuates that attendees will get the

"real" experience of the *favela* and black culture within a safe, multi-racial, and welcoming environment.

These sentiments are echoed in the second flyer released after the occupation. With same header, the flyer advertises "The Brazilian Dance," and features a Brazilian flag with a soccer ball in the middle of it. It states that anyone wearing a Brazilian t-shirt will get in for free. Again, the second flyer released replicates the notion that this dance is for all Brazilians.



Figure 4.2 Club Emoções Flyer for Baile do Brasileirão

The owner of Emoções is explicit about his intention to capitalize on middle class and tourists who will be willing to enter the *favela* since its occupation. But what will happen to *funk* culture with the influx of middle and upper class attendees? The history surrounding the criminalization of African-derived cultural productions explained earlier demonstrates how *funk* is going through the same sanitization process. These creations are produced in the *favelas*, criminalized, and later adopted and legalized by the city proper. The *funk* styles that will be appropriated by the middle and upper class will contain no lyrics about drug trafficking, social problems, and will most likely be devoid of explicit sexual content. Middle class *funk* dances are

starting to pop up in the city proper and in occupied *favelas* cater to this trend with musicians who sing pop *funk* song about pretty girls and love at *funk* dances.³⁹ If history is any indicator, these will be the only songs heard at Emoções as well.

The new flyers play into the civilizing mission discourse surrounding the current *favela* occupations. Countless news sources have flooded the *favelas* to report live showing that they can safely enter Rocinha and other *favelas* now that they are occupied.⁴⁰ Reporters exoticise Rocinha as violent and scary place where community members were just liberated from oppressive drug trafficking gangs. Directly following the occupation, reporters posed on the Passarela foot bridge on the edge of Rocinha, wearing bulletproof jackets, fabricating stories about how they were unable to enter before the occupation, while many of the same news sources had gone in over the last few years to talk about the economic and social improvements in Rocinha. In one report covered on television and in newspapers, journalists claim that the mail had finally arrived to Rocinha after mailmen were far too afraid to enter the community before the pacification when in reality, everyone in Rocinha received mail during drug trafficker control. Rocinha, and Emoções in particular, was multi-racial, welcoming, and safe for outsiders before the occupation. These instances of reporters insinuating that this environment has been created by the occupation, even after the media reported on this environment pre-occupation, illustrates the ways in which the current discourse of the *favela* "savages" being saved by the "colonizers" central to the occupations.

With the free *bailes da comunidade* now prohibited, and the changes in Emoções what will this mean for the maintenance of *funk* culture in Rocinha and other occupied *favelas*? All of these new restrictions and requirements as well as the attempt to fill the dances with outsiders might explain the low attendance during the first *funk* dance in Emoções, one week after the occupation. Whereas the normal turnout in Emoções is around 4,000, only 800 people attended

³⁹ i.e. MC Marcinho and Marcio G

⁴⁰ O Globo, Live news.

the 'Peace Dance'.⁴¹ It will be interesting to see whether youth tolerate the rules, if *funk* parties will go underground, and what *favelado* youth will do with the loss of certain segments of *funk* culture as many wait for the return of drug trafficker rule.

The Day Funk Died: The "Post-Crisis Sound"

In the early 1990s, *funk* artist began to create a style called *funk realidade*, or reality *funk*, writing lyrics that spoke to the social crisis that *favelados* were experiencing on a daily basis, including poverty, police violence, and social and economic inequalities between the *favelas* and the city proper. Many *favelados* describe this time as the golden era of *funk*, explaining that after this period, the music essentially died. Many of my participants claimed that today's *favela* youth were only interested in vulgar lyrics and hyper-sexualized dancing.

Today, *funk* is often criticized for being superficial and sexualized. Unlike *funk realidade*, I believe that today's popular superficial *funk* music about sex and having fun is a purposefully opting out of politics as a "post-crisis sound." In his study of reggaetón versus hip hop in Cuba, Geoff Baker describes the "post-crisis sound" as music coming after crisis-time protest music.⁴² Though Baker briefly mentions how *funk* is likely the result of the youths disengaging after the military dictatorship, I believe it is more likely that *funk* is a product of the rise in police violence against *favelados* in the early 1990s, which produced the *funk realidade* of the same period. Similar to reggaetón, *funk* is accused of being apolitical and is devalued when compared to the lyrical value of Brazilian hip hop. Baker claims that genres focusing on political content have the ability to burn out youth who live in highly political societies.⁴³

The current wave of *funk* includes pop love songs that typically speak to the culture of *funk* dances, *putaria* with its highly sexualized lyrics and dance moves associated with *funk*, and *proibidão*. Criticized for being apolitical, *favelados* participate in *funk* dances in order to escape

⁴¹ Arújo, Isabel.

⁴² Baker, 191.

⁴³ Baker, 186.

the politics of the undeclared civil war in which they live daily. Like the reggaetón dance space described by Baker, the baile *funk* is an oppositional space that promotes pleasure and the physical over lyrics and politics.⁴⁴ Whereas the lyrics of *funk* have been censored and criminalized by the state, the movement of the body through dance is much more difficult to control.⁴⁵

Funkeiros in the space of the dance as well as many residents of Rocinha have formulated a somewhat utopian vision of the community in which they live. Paul Sneed explores the idea of utopia within the *funk* dances of Rocinha and claims, "In the moment and space of the *funk* musical experience in the baile, participants are lifted above the limitations of their daily lives to an emotional state that makes available to them the feeling of what it would be like to live in a better world."⁴⁶ Though slightly more complicated, the pre-UPP *favela* sentiment that resonated in the comments people told me included that they live in a community that is not perfect, but are doing the best they could considering the alternative (i.e. state government). The idea was that under the traffickers, there was protection from police, safety in the community, funds for social services, and some freedom of expression in exchange for silence when it came to gang information. Only the future will tell what will happen with the breakdown of this utopia, the cut-off from social services provided by traffickers, and what will happen to this dance space.

Funkeiros and *favelados* alike have already begun to turn on the police in charge of the pacification and recall a nostalgic past. Drug trafficking factions have controlled and often supported the community since the 1980s. *Favelados* often referred to the occupation as something they could not even imagine after such a long period living with a parallel power. Since the occupation of Rocinha, community members have been responding to the police

⁴⁴ Baker, 175.

⁴⁵ Baker, 177.

⁴⁶ Sneed 2003, 60.

presence in surprising ways. Even community members who expressed their desire to live in a space free of traffickers are responding to this change with nostalgia for the recent trafficker past.

Proibidão song videos are being posted claiming that *favelas* are standing in unity against the UPP. There are also songs called 'Liberdade Já Mestre da Rocinha!', meaning 'Liberate the Kingpin of Rocinha Now!'; as well as more aggressive songs such as 'Pau no Cu Do Cabral UPP é o Caralho!', or 'A Dick in the Ass of Cabral'⁴⁷ and the UPP is Shit!" Aside from these expected musical productions, a number of new music videos are posted everyday explaining how Nem, the drug boss of Rocinha, had no choice but to join drug trafficking due to the poverty he suffered. One especially poignant example a song released in early 2011, by MC Godô is called, 'Salvei Minha Filha,' or 'I Saved my Daughter', reflects upon the life of Nem and reasons why people join drug trafficking:

Life was cruel to me. I chose a path
To save what I loved most, I shut my mouth.
I ask for the love of God, that Jesus does not punish me.
I went against his commandments to save my daughter.
My soul cries, I am leaving now.
Many judge me, but they do not know my history.
I live with death and lost my freedom.
But in the time it took, I was not a coward.
In this kind of society, they only know how to criticize.
But it is easy for them to talk, when they have never been in my place.
Have you ever had to do this? Have you ever had to love? I'm not sorry.
Today, that indebted sailing mile is worth the pain.
I ask the king of heaven to forgive the actions I took to save her.
Just another citizen who had no choice.
Even I had reasons. I ask for forgiveness.

Never judge my story, because tomorrow it could be your story.
This is more than a message I am sending, its' a reality.
This is to the people who have everything and love to criticize.
But thank God, it is only he who can judge.⁴⁸

This is the now well-known story of Nem da Rocinha. By embodying the criminal, the singer engages in thug mimicry, placing himself in a position where he is capable of justifying

⁴⁷ Cabral is the current governor of Rio de Janeiro.

⁴⁸ Tricia Rose, 109.

the actions of the trafficker.⁴⁹ He reiterates over and over again that the choice he made was really no choice at all. The bandit believes that God will understand his reasons, and the singer, by taking on the role of the thug, is attempting to get the same reaction from the listener. Unsurprisingly, the popularity of the song has increased enormously since the capture of Nem outside of Rocinha. In days following the occupation of Rocinha, the drug leader became known for this story. After finding out that his ten year old daughter needed a surgery that would cost R\$50,000, Nem asked to borrow the money from Lulu, the drug boss at the time. He joined the gang in order to work off his debts and in four years, became the leader of the Amigos dos Amigos faction of Rocinha, the largest grossing *favela* in the trade.

Since the presence of the police in Rocinha, residents have begun to make others aware this story. Many people who told me they disagreed with the presence of drug trafficking in Rocinha are using this story to describe the social and physical violence they have suffered as a community at the hands of the government. Recently, many of these community members have been posting comments on social networking sites following the story with personal opinions such as, "You think he is a monster?! Would you have let your daughter die? The government would have! If he is a monster, the state and their social inequality have made that monster!" *Funk* is reflective of the larger culture of the *favela* and if people in the *favela* are beginning to talk about inequality, *funk* is sure to follow. Certainly residents of Rocinha are experiencing a crisis. Before the UPP, *favelados* spoke of the impending occupation as a reality hard to imagine, if imaginable at all. With uncertainties surrounding how the police plan to treat *favelados* coupled with the violent reputations even the "pacification" police have had a hard time forgetting, *favelados* are quickly questioning the intensions behind the World Cup and Olympic clean up of *favelas* as well as the lingering social inequalities. These referrals to the past function as nostalgic remembrances of a community drug traffic that protected people from police and provided fine-tuned social services. Community members now remember traffickers as a positive force, turning their attention to the next critique of power.

While nostalgia is often pegged as negative, it becomes a useful tool to people in crisis. Spitzer claims that nostalgic memory "sets up a positive within the 'world of yesterday' as a model for creative inspiration, and possible emulation, within the world of the 'here and now.' and by establishing a link between a 'self in present' and an image of a 'self in past,' nostalgic memory also plays a significant role in the reconstruction and continuity of individual and collective memory."⁵⁰ This nostalgia recalls the collective community culture, which that after centuries of neglect and abuse by government forces, worked out and maintained its own system for police protection and social services. This nostalgic memory brings the community together, but also promotes a healthy amount of weariness and surveillance of police during occupation and "pacification" processes. As an embodied practice, *funk* cultural memory can be "remembered" through performance. Then we must ask, by no longer allowing *bailes da comunidade*, *funk* radio, or any performance outside of the pop-*funk* love songs (*funk melody*) dances of Emoções, how will *funk* cultural memory be forgotten? How can it survive if it cannot be performed? What will happen the histories and voices that are performed through more suppressed styles of *funk*?

Pen to Paper: Recording the Past and Writing the New Wave Funk Movement

Funk, and *favela*/trafficker, culture becomes recognized as a dangerous thing to lose in a time of crisis. *Funk* has a part of everyday life in the *favela* since the 1960s. Pre-occupation, *funk* could be heard in multiple locations on every street twenty-four hours a day. *Funk* has always been under threat by the government, but was never seen as something that could be lost while traffickers continued to rule. Rodriguez and Fortier's claim that different aspects of memory have the ability to liberate people from oppression, provide a medium for transmission memory, inform the emotions of generations, and unite people through time for a common cause and becomes recognized as something that needs to be kept alive in crisis and that the larger the

⁵⁰ Spitzer, 92.

crisis, the more important these memories become⁵¹ *Funk* is one of the main platforms residents are utilizing to rally against the occupation and this cultural production is clearly perceived as a threat to the government or the state wouldn't have had been one of the firsts targets for new *favela* restrictions at the start of the occupation.



Figure 4.3 - The History of Funk

Funkeiros, long accused of being apolitical, have responded to *favela* occupations with a large increase in political activism mainly led by APA *Funk*, the Association of *Funk* Artists and

⁵¹ Rodriguez and Fortier, 5.

Friends. Since the new wave of state suppression of *funk* by the post-occupation state, by organizing as well as producing *funk* songs and print materials. Since the commencement of the occupations, magazines, articles, and pamphlets on *funk* have been published and disseminated to the public.

APA *Funk* published "Liberate Pancadão (meaning '*funk* beat'): A Manual on the Rights of MCs" on January 3, 2010.⁵² The manual features color cartoons, including figure 4.3 below, that teach literate, and to some extent, illiterate MCs and about the history of *funk* and their rights as musicians. One page of 'The History of *Funk*' cartoon, seen in figure 4.3, features the evolution of *funk* music, linking each decade with African American music in the U.S. including *funk* from the 1960's that arrived to Brazil in the 1970's, Hip Hop, rap, dances, and graffiti that arrived from the U.S. to Rio de Janeiro in the 1980's, and Miami base beat from the U.S. in the 1990's, which still serves as the base sound of Rio's *funk*. The fourth frame speak to the role of the police in breaking up gatherings during the military dictatorship and how this practice continues today with the addition of drugs being planted on people by police after the dance is shut down. The manual goes on to describe the evolution of *funk* within Brazil as well as the rights of *funk* MCs.

This manual was published in partnership with Vírus Planetário Magazine. In November 2009, Vírus Planetário also published an issue dedicated to promoting the value of *funk* in the face of criminalization. The issue included articles on how *funk* was recognized as a cultural movement by the ministry of culture and another article about why *funk* is necessary. Both of these publications feature the same cartoon, which illustrates the reaction of *funkeiros* to the new censorship of *funk*. This document serves to remember and record the cultural memory of police violence against this community as people realign their social realities and lives around the police occupation.

⁵² APA *Funk*.



Figure 4.4 - This is Funk

The first frame in the cartoon featured in figure shows *favelados* enjoying a *funk* dance in a sea of musical notes that flow from speakers even larger than the people. It asks, "What makes some people so critical of a music style to the point that they would criminalize it?" The next frame features a dancing scandalously dressed women dancing. It states, "None of these criticisms are important to those who enjoy *funk*. But sociologists observe, and with reason, that this persecution is identical to [other musical forms], for example..." The cartoon goes on to show a blues player, explaining that blues also suffered persecution in the United States during its infancy and that "'good people' did not listen to blues, you know?" The following frame shows a man with sunglasses and a cigarette who is playing samba on a guitar. It declares that, "Even samba was considered "bandit music" in the late 19th to early 20th century." He sings, "The roses do not speak, but the 'fish-heads' (idiots) should be mute." In the following box, there is a suited man with a fish head breaking a boom-box with a large mallet. The "idiot" in a suit says, "I hate *funk*." The cartoon reads, "If the fish-heads (idiots) want to attack *funk*, let them.

Because you know what is going to happen?" The final frame states, "An army of DJs and MCs are going to counterattack with more music. Yeah man, the crowd is going to go crazy! It is not even a *caveirão*, (bullet proof vehicle with gun holes, driven by BOPE) but it has the power of a tank...just feel the beat and the power of *funk*!"⁵³ The illustration is of a happy DJ who has turn tables on a tank, with records for wheels, that is blasting *funk* instead of fire.

This cartoon summarizes the strong political stance that APA *Funk* has taken in regards to the censorship of *funk* that has increased during the occupations. It represents *favelados* enjoying a *funk* dance while disengaging from stereotypes surrounding these events. There are no weapons and no violence. Moreover, the cartoon demonstrates the ways in which Afro-descended musical forms have been suppressed and vilified without referring to highly charged political topics like race or nation. Both of these categories are highly intertwined in Brazil where the mentioning of race means that a person is deviating from national ideologies of racial mixture and harmony. Drawing attention to these categories could result in the racialization of *funk*, when many *funkeiros* do not identify as being of African decent.

A song recently released by APA *Funk* member MC Liano might quickly become the new anthem of occupied as well as non-occupied *favelas*. While media covering the occupations have been extremely positive, inequality and larger issues of police abuse continue in "pacified" *favelas*. The *funk* song by MC Liano is called, "Chega da *Favela* Chorar," or "The *Favela* has Arrived at Tears." The video that accompanies the song opens with the famous scenic view of the Christ the Redeemer statue and the bay juxtaposed with a sad guitar melody, ambulance sirens, rain, and the word, "Luto," or Mourning, followed by a news clip of police. The screen reads, "The occupations have commenced in Rio." And the lyrics begin:

So much time in the *favela*
There exists no more hope.
And I
I confess to you I try not to remember the smile of my childhood.
The worker leaves for work without knowing if he will return.
And it is them who are treated like slaves in order to work.
You have to be a hero to attempt to live in these conditions.

⁵³ APA *Funk*.

And the upper class is occupying the *favela* along with the journalists.
When they see a black man or child on the street ask for change,
They leave and get in-between other cars to protect themselves.

[Chorus x 2]

The *favela* has arrived at tears, arrived at seeing our friends on the ground
full of bullet holes.
The lost their lives because of oppression.
I also want my right to be a citizen.

This government has thousands of rights, but I am discriminated.
Yes, I am.
Yes, I am alone in the *favela*, a suspect, hidden
Without transportation, health, or education,
How can I have dignity?
If my elected officials want to kick me out of the city.
A man who is black, laying in the street, in a puddle of blood catches a
bullet and then they leave again.
Perhaps this is the "justice" they are teaching in schools.
A mother is in the street, not knowing what to do.
Asking God to help her with an oration, repeating, "Please don't let my
son die!"

[Chorus x 2]

The song describes the criminalization of poverty, police violence against *favelados* and the occupations. The MC describes the fear workers have to leave their homes in the morning, not knowing if their economic and/or racial status will result in their murder by police. These people who fear to leave their homes are treated like slaves in the only jobs that will accept *favelados* or people with dark skin. He comments that while the affluent classes are the ones hiding in their homes demanding that the *favelas* be invaded, they are the ones who fear the poor, even from the safety of their cars. He claims that people in the *favela* are crying over friends killed, the only justification was their economic status. He asks to be considered a citizen, like middle and upper class Brazilians. He draws attention to the fact that *favelados* have no social services, or rights to health and education and with the government occupying or destructing *favelas*, forcing people out of the city. Unlike the *funk* cartoon, MC Liano radicalizes the issue, calling the murders of *favelados* and fear of the poor play into the underlying racism that is a part of Brazilian society. He does this in some parts of the song, but does not allude to the fact that this is the only reason, as to not essentialize the issue.

It is possible that "Chega da *Favela* Chorar" the beginning of the new crisis sound. What is certain, is this song is the voice of the new APA *Funk* takeover of the *funk* scene since the transition in popularity from political lyrics of *funk* realidade to the popular explosion of putaria and proibidão from 2000 to the present. *Funk* challenges the hegemonic notions of national identity, social harmony, and confronts social inequality. Therefore, occupation and attempted shutdown of traditional *funk* culture is an example of how sanitization, erasure, and promotion of certain cultural productions are tools of control. Taylor argues that, "The modes of storing and transmitting knowledge are many and mixed and embodied performances have often contributed to the maintenance of a repressive social order."⁵⁴ APA *Funk* is succeeding in fighting for the cultural survival of place of *funk* in the nation. Furthermore, the increased political involvement is the only legitimized voice that might be taken seriously when it comes to issues of police violence. With the shutdown of *bailes da comunidade* and Emoções *funk* dance monopoly, options are slim for *funkeiros*. While the government limits the types of music that can be made as well as dances that can be held, APA *Funk* will continue to fight for *funk* that will critique social issues-within the politics of cultural memory.

Post-Occupation Rocinha

This pacification project is confronting the three-decades of gang control in Rocinha, where residents have managed to find ways to negotiate their lives within a violent situation. While in full control of Rocinha, drug traffickers paid police to not enter, would openly sell drugs on tables, and walk around the community with automatic rifles slung across their backs. Gangs implemented gruesome, and sometimes public, displays of punishment in order to strictly enforce rules and order, including beating or shooting people in the hand or foot, who broke community rules by stealing, committing domestic violence, or fighting in public. Repeat offenders would often be killed. For more heinous crimes, people convicted by gang trial of acts such as rape, child molestation, or gang informants known as "X9s" would be given "the

⁵⁴ Taylor, 22

microwave," whereby the guilty party would have tires stacked around their bodies from their feet up to their necks, gasoline poured onto them, and would be burned alive.

In Rocinha, people do not claim that traffickers are not violent; they argue that respectable traffickers keep their violence within the gangs, and that violence against non-gang community members occurs within the limits of "street justice." Maria, a 45 year old woman born and raised in Rocinha, tells me more about the what it is like to live within the drug trade:

Look, it is not like the gangs are not violent. It's just that they keep that stuff in the gang, and if you choose to associate yourself with the gang, well... People know that never ends well. Before the traffickers, the police would just come in and shoot up everything. They would come into your house and steal your TV if you didn't have a receipt. But, after the traffickers got here, the police have to be careful. They walk around here all scared. [laughs] And the gang supports us. If you have a child who is sick in the middle of the night, they will make sure you have a babysitter for your other kids and money to pay the doctor. They will rebuild your house. They will solve a problem you have with a neighbor. And they will punish someone for stealing, domestic violence, or for harassing a woman. That's why you can walk in the street and feel safe. We tolerate trafficking because, well...the devil you know is better than the devil you don't know.

Maria speaks to the services and moral codes that drug traffickers provide, specifically to those that cater to the needs of women in the *favela* including support for families, protection from police and other residents--something which gained the drug boss in Rocinha much appreciation.

Within the community, there is a strong sense of justice and morality, that many people recognize as being enforced by the gang. Certain drug bosses within the community have been valorized for keeping residents safe. Shortly after the arrest of the drug boss of Rocinha, community members began justifying the trafficker's presence by telling Nem's story in Facebook posts, songs, and music videos. Upon commencement of the occupation, many community members who previously disliked the trafficker's presence began to defend him.

As the story goes, after finding out that his ten year old daughter needed a surgery that would cost \$32,000 dollars, Nem asked to borrow the money from Lulu, the drug boss at the time. He joined the gang in order to work off his debts and in four years, became the leader of the Amigos dos Amigos faction of Rocinha, a trade which grossed 10 billion dollars a year. Residents tell this story, exemplifying how *favelados* like Nem have no choice but to join drug

trafficking due to the poverty they suffer. Following the occupation, the newly elected leader of the residents association, Leonardo Rodriguez Lima, spoke out against the imprisonment of Nem stating, "Nem is a different kind of delinquent because he wasn't violent with residents. The community was peaceful with him here. The residents do not want Nem to go to jail where they won't provide him with food and basic medical treatment. They all prefer that he be rehabilitated and reintegrated into the community."⁵⁵ Many community members do not believe Nem should be punished because they view Nem as a protector and provider within the community and justify his decision to join the drug trade.

During preliminary research, I observed that as the date for pacification drew closer, many residents began to express their concern for the state pacification and loss of social order in the community historically provided by traffickers. Rodrigo, director of a community center in Rocinha summarized the community sentiment towards the pacification stating, "The devil you know, is better than the devil you don't know." On evening before the occupation, Gabi, a twenty-five year old member of Rocinha's middle-class, became frustrated while we talked about the impending pacification and told me:

"People who are not from the *favela* do not understand. We are not all criminals and not all the criminals are bad people. They call Nem [the drug boss] a monster! What kind of a monster joins the drug trade to pay for his daughter's surgery? Would you have joined if your daughter's life depended on it? [The police] are the monsters. They come in here to abuse and kill people. At least the gang is doing good things for their community."

Unlike poorer *favela* residents, Gabi did not rely on drug traffickers for welfare, nor did she openly support the gang, but she appreciated the security afforded by their presence and did not want the state policing her community.

In addition to showing support for the gang and resistance to state pacification, I found that Rocinha's community members negotiated with and utilized drug traffickers, who are amenable to their particular needs, providing social support, security, and cultural engagement. In a situation of low state presence, regulation can emerge in many forms. Residents would

⁵⁵ Santos, Ocimar.

explain to me the ways in which they would use the gang to evict non-paying and drug using roommates, demand that traffickers punish a thief or regulate an anti-littering community initiative started by children in the *favela*. Uncle Lino runs a free art school in a one room shack called, "Trade a Weapon for a Paintbrush" in the Valão, what was at the time, the most notorious and trafficker heavy area of the *favela*. Lino lectured and scolded traffickers when he saw them having a negative influence on the children in Rocinha. Uncle Lino told me, "You won't see a kid running around here with a pretend weapon, I told the traffickers that they were to reprimand them when they see this." One day he took me out to the large dumpster that is located in a dead end just to the left of the school. He tells me:

"We are very discriminated [against] here. Here it is very complicated to talk about discrimination. There is trash everywhere in the *favela*. Do you know who pays for the trash to be picked up? The gang does...The only people who will ever truly have control in the *favela* are the drug gangs. Only gangs. Because when the police enter the people are afraid. It is worse. [The police officer's] right is to apprehend and leave. Here? Here, no. Here they enter shooting at the innocent into the houses of residents. They are not concerned with who is who. They commit crimes in the community."

Through his statement, Lino legitimizes the trafficker presence and power within the community, claiming that the state not only neglects the community, but also inflicts acts of violence against the space and bodies of the *favela*. The police, as opposed to the traffickers, "commit crimes in the community," and the traffickers, rather than the state, provide services. Tio Lino's words are echoed by the majority of community members in different ways. They specifically speak to the support of drug trafficker order in that *favela* residents often value *favela* street justice over the justice of the Brazilian legal system.

Since the pacification, many of the fears that residents had surrounding the unraveling of *favela* order and security after the pacification have become reality; the state's version of policing and order is creating *favela* disorder. According to community members, the little support that the UPP had quickly unraveled with order in the *favela*. In addition to the increase in crime and violence between residents and increased police violence including physical assaults, extra-legal entering of homes and seizure of personal property, extra-judicial execution, and disappearances of residents. Furthermore, the decentralization of trafficker control has caused gang war over the

Rocinha's 10 billion dollar a year (USD) drug sales⁵⁶ due to the *favela* being located in the hills above Rio's wealthiest neighborhood. *Favela* residents and non-profit organizations are concerned about the potentially harmful intentions of the government and negative effects of the state presence, i.e. state led removal of full or partial *favelas* with illegal evictions, whether pacifications are meant more for tourists rather than *favela* residents, and how the state is avoiding *favelas* controlled by violent militias because they are mainly made of current or ex-police officers. Another growing concern is the pacification of *favelas* as a business venture with large investments of money into *favelas* by companies like Coca Cola, and the resulting real estate boom that has already resulted in some gentrification as middle and upper class city dwellers are purchasing homes in *favelas* for their ocean views.

Most *favela* residents have become disillusioned with the pacification process and government decisions surrounding their communities and Brazil as a whole. Millions of Brazilians have taken to the streets to voice their discontent with recent issues that have arisen with the preparation of World Cup and Olympics. These concerns include *favela* pacifications, now named "operation armed peace," allocation of World Cup *favela* upgrade funds, including the building of cable cars in *favelas* like Rocinha that residents believe are inefficient for travel for *favelados*, price hikes in transportation, the *favela* pacification process, and the disappearance and murder of residents in Rocinha by outsiders and the pacification police.⁵⁷

Two cases in particular have created a space for dialog and protest surrounding the deficiencies of the pacification. The first was the disappearance of Amarildo de Souza a 47-year-old bricklayer, respected community member, and father of six from Rocinha, who disappeared after he was called to the UPP station on July 14, 2013. Rocinha's pacification police said that they released Amarildo after questioning and claimed that the cameras outside of the UPP station and the GPS from the station's squad car were not functioning the day he disappeared. After nearly a month of protests calling for the location of his body, an investigation uncovered traces

⁵⁶ Aquino, Ruth.

⁵⁷ UOL Noticias.

of blood in the UPP car, the camera footage showing Amarildo leaving the UPP station in the patrol car, and the GPS tracking showing the nearly four hour route and stops the car made before returning to Rocinha without the man who was in their custody. The investigation also discovered that the head commander of the UPP of Rocinha, Edson Santos, a member of the BOPE Elite Squad infamous for violent *favela* raids and interrogations, claimed that he had never met Amarildo before but, in fact, the two had an argument a couple days before Amarildo was called to the station. The investigation revealed that Amarildo was tortured by electrocution and suffocation with a plastic bag. Witnesses claim that thought he was brought in to verify his papers he was tortured for information about drug traffickers. An epileptic, Amarildo died from the electric shocks.⁵⁸ Amarildo's family has reported that the police are intimidating them and threatening multiple family members for talking about the case.⁵⁹ Amarildo's nephew, who has been protesting his uncle's disappearance, was approached by police who threatened to kill him at gunpoint, telling him that they would have disappeared him if they had found him at night.⁶⁰ Two community members who were bribed to link Amarildo to trafficking have entered the witness protection program.⁶¹ Ten UPP officers were charged in the torture, murder, and disappearance of the body of Amarildo. Despite this investigation, indictment, continued protests, and pleas for answers from Amarildo's family, friends, and neighbors, his body has yet to be recovered.

The second event occurred on September 28, 2013, when 9-year-old Rebeca Miranda Carvalho dos Santos was kidnapped from a child's birthday party while her mother went to get her a slice of cake. Her body was found the next morning 50 meters away from the UPP station. She had been raped and strangled. Adults who saw the man before he kidnapped Rebeca, and the children who witnessed the kidnapping, claim that the man is definitely not from Rocinha,

⁵⁸ Ramalho, Sérgio and Elenilce Bottari.

⁵⁹ Blanchi 2013(a).

⁶⁰ O Dia

⁶¹ O Globo.

because no one recognized him. Residents interviewed, including the last Resident Association leader of Rocinha, claim that this is the worst crime the community has ever witnessed.⁶² In one interview, resident Romario Santos states,

"Rocinha is shocked, we're paralyzed, we do not know who we can call on for help. We are living with "insensitive" security. Today, Rocinha is undergoing a transitional phase, in which we are forced to live in labyrinth with no exit. We are being forced to live with the chaos and the violence, always hidden, where we do not have any more answers for the things that have been happening. I've reached the conclusion that we are all Amarildo."⁶³

Romario's statement reiterates how many residents feel like the pacification has stripped them of their agency and security. Clearly, residents like Romario feel like they have gone from a secure community where they felt like they had someone to turn to for help, albeit traffickers, to with to one of chaos and violence. There is a clear sentiment from the community surrounding the death of Rebeca that the community has never been this dangerous and hopeless. His comment "we are all Amarildo" illuminates the powerlessness that *favelados* feel over their lives at the moment and the weight of the possibility of being disappeared by those sent to protect them.

⁶² Blachi 2013(b).

⁶³ Coutinho.

Conclusion

In preparation for the World Cup in 2014 and Olympics in 2016, *favela* pacification projects have been in communities to end drug trafficker rule and to clean up the look and reputation of the city before the arrival of tourists. Residents from the *favela* Rocinha claim that community conditions have deteriorated since drug trafficker control was replaced by police control. I found that most of Rocinha residents are unsatisfied with the pacification process and UPP presence in their community, and prefer the previous system of drug trafficker control for two reasons. First, community members believe that drug traffickers were able to provide better social services, community security, solved and mediated community issues, and respected residents more than the UPP officers. Second, many residents believe that they are suffering from a state imposed social cleansing under the pacification. The government enacted strict rules limiting and prohibiting *funk* music and dances in the *favela*, making it difficult to partake in cultural activities that are central to *favela* culture and identity.

Upon commencement of the occupations project, *funk* music was a main target of the state. New pacification restrictions limit access to *funk* events by prohibiting *funk* street parties, forcing clubs to and purchase expensive licenses and raise entrance fees. A month of Sunday dances would come out to nearly a quarter of most *favelados* monthly income. This increase in the price of entrance as well as the crack down on the sale of bootlegged CDs of *funk* music and club mixes means that *favelados* are having a more difficult time getting access to the culture that once was the center of their social lives. Residents began to complain about these changes as the occupation commenced, claiming that *funk* was being criminalized when a small fraction of the songs are dedicated to gang related music. The state claimed that *favela funk* dances and music were

intrinsically linked to drug trafficking culture. This is, in part, due to the funding that gangs provide to pay for some community *funk* dances as well as the one style of *funk*, proibidão, that platforms gang power and success. The pacification plan included immediately enacting new regulations that restricted all community *funk* culture, arguably the most essential community gathering and largest sub-culture within Brazil.

This research also uncovered the different transitions of politics in *funk* music. Whereas 1990's *funk* was taken a political stance against police and state sanctioned violence, *funk* of the 2000's was seen as an "apolitical" music. Today, *funk* is once again being used as a political tool to confront social inequality, police violence, and the social cleansing of *funk* music from pacified *favelas*.

During this research I found that many community members of Rocinha prefer drug traffickers to police as well as pacification police. This finding challenges previous research because most *favela* scholars argue that drug traffickers rule through fear. During this research, I found that community members were much more afraid of the police than they were of traffickers. Whereas community members would speak to the benefits to having drug traffickers in the community before the occupation, they were eager to experience a less illegitimate form of rule. As the occupation grew nearer, it was clear that police control of Rocinha was not what most residents had in mind for a positive change in their community. The occupation process was an event that amplified and solidified these sentiments as residents came to terms with what their community would look like under the rule of police.

This research contributes to anthropological questions about the ways in which people find new possibilities and their own solutions to conditions of structural and intimate duress. Rocinha offered an opportunity to explore the ways that under increasing "slumification" and drug trafficker control across Latin America and the Caribbean. These questions are increasingly urgent as violent drug gangs in Latin America and other areas are providing social and financial support to poverty-stricken communities that have never been helped by the state. Little work has been done on this recent phenomenon. Further research will be needed to explore the ways in which *favela* community members will respond to these pacifications, and what residents want for their communities,

and how resistance is performed in the everyday rather than solely within social movements and protests.

Having an understanding of the responses to government intervention in areas where they previously intervened rarely, if at all, could give us better insight into the politics of humanitarian aid, government projects, and policing in all communities under conditions of poverty and inequality, including those controlled by gangs.

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